

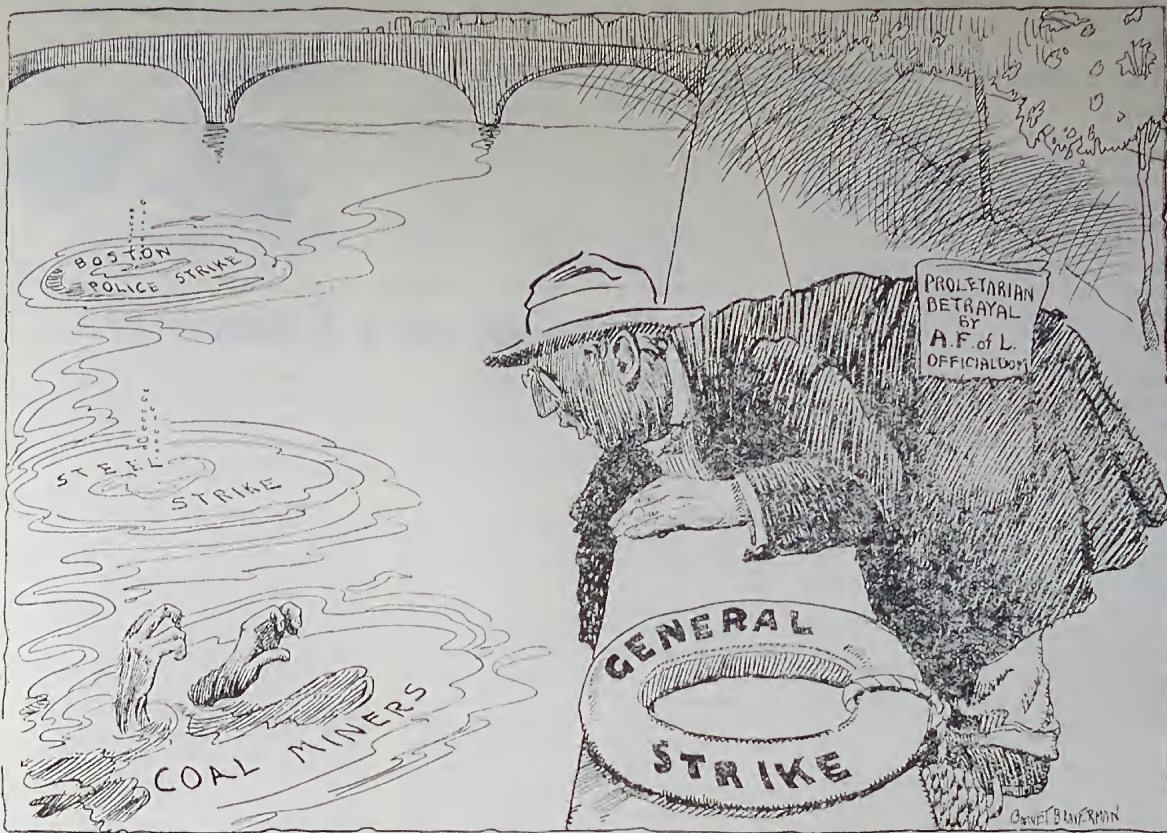
The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. 1, No. 11.

DECEMBER 13th, 1919.

Five Cents



THE SYMPATHETIC SPECTATOR

Where is the Power?

DURING the war administrative boards were set up at Washington to dictate the economic life of the nation. American business, which had bitterly opposed everything along the line of governmental economic regulation, quietly accepted the new order of things. For the most part, as the records clearly show, this regulation was not inimical to the most exorbitant profits. It was largely a matter of business men dealing with the government through themselves as government agents, or at any rate through their more or less direct special representatives at Washington.

But there was the period of the railroad breakdown and, early in 1918, the drastic mandates closing up business in order to conserve coal. Similar measures were taken as to other essentials of production. Against this most severe and highly arbitrary control of the economic life of the nation there was considerable protest—but no disobedience.

The war compelled a temporary shift from the normal business anarchy in the United States to an orderly economic activity in behalf of the war. American business accepted this economic rule, with its own special representatives at the helm, because of the collective American business interest in the war.

During the last few days American business has again been put under the arbitrary and absolute control of government administrators, due to the coal shortage. There is much grumbling—but no disobedience.

On the whole, given a few days for adjustment, it appears to be a fairly easy matter to establish by edict a universal six-hour day, allowing for some few exceptions and variations for special cases. It appears to be not anarchic but the essence of orderliness to redistribute the coal supply according to the immediate social needs. It appears the better course not to rely on individual

initiative but on central administration guided by exact information as to the economic life in its entirety.

It appears, then, that the coal supply can determine the transition from business anarchy to business order. It appears that the essential element of business order is the elimination of independent individual control in favor of informed central control. When the productive life of the nation attains the point where it is divided up into a few great business enterprises, absolutely dependent upon one another, as all business is now dependent upon coal mining, then the continuity and efficiency of each of the great departments of production becomes the most vital concern of all the people of the nation.

At the same moment that the Wilsonian administration enforces this adjustment of the life of the whole nation to the short supply of coal, it also enters into the conflict between miners and operators which is the cause of the coal shortage. In this aspect of the government activity we see very quickly a high degree of tolerance for the profits of the coal operators and a high degree of intolerance for the wage and hour demands of the coal miners. We see an attempt to use judicial and military power to compel men to work at dictated wages and to crush the resistance which the miners can make because they are effectively organized—a resistance which consists only of collective refusal to go into the mines, a purely passive and peaceful resistance.

But a coal shortage of itself threatens a collapse of the entire economic life of the nation. The coal strike of itself has the full tendency and effect of a general strike. If less than half a million workers can thus compel a revolution in the economic system in the United States, and if this sort of organized action continues and takes on larger and larger proportions, it is apparent

(Continued on page 3).

THE COMMUNIST

National Organ, Communist Party.

LOUIS C. FRAINA, Editor.
ISAAC EDW. FERGUSON, Acting Editor.

Published Weekly, and owned and controlled,
by the Communist Party of America.

5 cents a copy, \$1.00 six months, \$2.00 a year.
Bundles, 10 or more, 3½¢ a copy.

Address all communications
1219 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

The President's Message

WHAT on the question of the peace treaty and the League of Nations? Nothing. What on the President's own war venture in Russia? Nothing. What on the seething agitation for predatory intervention in Mexico? Nothing. What on the steel and coal strikes and the threatening railroad strike? Nothing, except a few pious phrases which mean less than nothing, such as "a general democratization of all industry" and "a council of peace and amity," etc., etc. What on the national debt and the billions due us from our bankrupt allies? That Congress shall relax the tariff to ease up on our favorable balance of trade, but that Congress shall go easy on the income and profits taxes. What on the high cost of living? That the farmers shall be coaxed to grow more foodstuffs and shall be kept generally contented. Also, another conference, "a fresh, comprehensive survey made of rural conditions." Also, swat the profiteers and have proper cold storage labels.

Under the high cost of living theme comes the recommendation for federal licensing of corporations doing interstate business, and this is typical of a series of recommendations for an intensification of the program of State Capitalism inaugurated by the war.

The message is not worthy of serious analysis. Where it is not a rehash of former solutions, already proved empty by actual test, it is mere verbiage—and not as ornate as the usual Wilson verbiage.

The capitalist press featured in glaring headlines the dominant theme of Wilsonian statesmanship: down with the "passionate and malevolent agitators." Even here the message is not as "strong" as the headlines would indicate, because it seems to admit that punishing the evil agitators will not of itself cure all the economic and social ills of the nation.

This is an unfortunate admission. It shows a confusion of thought. Why not just blame it all on the agitators and let it go at that? Because the moment it is admitted that there are problems and causes, need for remedies and all that sort of thing, how on earth are you going to determine when agitation for one remedy or another is "passionate and malevolent?"

Simple. My kind is good and just; yours is vicious and criminal—even if my kind is worthless. Swat the Bolsheviks! Wilsonian statesmanship!

How Soon in Italy?

DEMONSTRATION and counter-demonstration in Italy, with toll of blood shed and deaths, means that the revolution is in full progress. Of the dramatic demonstration of the Socialist War in the Dictament against the King the proletariat are barely enough lives to know that such an event happened—though it is historically even more significant than the anti-Kaiser demonstration in the German Reichstag in March 1914.

The Italian Socialists in the Parliament refuse the oath and all homage to the monarchial government as the representatives of a powerful division of the Communist International. There is nothing to conjecture about what it all means. There is only one question: how soon?

How soon in Italy?

End of the Coal Strike

ONE item in the official conference on the President's terms of surrender to the miners tells the whole inner story of the strike. The "radicals" among the officials wanted the question to go back to the locals, by means of a delegate convention. The majority of the executive officials wanted the decision made over the heads of the locals.

The miners were not defeated. They will again rally their forces; they will yet find organized expression of the spirit of the rank

and file. A revolution within American unionism cannot be held off much long.

* * *

Gossip is only gossip, but how are we to account for the persistent rumors going back over two weeks at least that the strike would end on the tenth of December? Colossal stage play, indeed, if all that intervened has been by pre-arrangement! But even this is well within the possibilities of an alliance between capital and "yellow" labor again the unorganized masses.



Comment on a Commenter

By C. E. Ruthenberg

From Socialist News, Cleveland.

BENJAMIN KARR, who writes "Comments" for the Cleveland News was very much aroused by a speech made by Albert Rhys Williams at North Church last Sunday. So much so that he devoted his entire "comment" last Tuesday to that subject.

The first thing that aroused Karr was the fact that, as he says, "the more ardent his (Williams') championing of the Russian 'reds' the better most of his hearers liked it." If that surprised this gentleman he has not been in touch with working class audiences in recent months. He should know that in spite of all the lies that newspapers like that for which he writes have been spreading, the working people of this country understand that in Russia something has happened that is of tremendous import to them, and it is only necessary to mention the word "Bolshevik" before a working class audience to secure a tremendous response. This is true in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, east or west, north or south.

The naive surprise which Mr. Karr expresses on this point, is not, however, the important part of his article. He attempts to prove that Williams was unfair and partisan. As an illustration he cites the fact that the speaker said that if in Russia there is a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in this country we have a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The latter statement is characterized as being "absolutely untrue." It is untrue, Mr. Karr says, because "there can be nothing which justifies the name 'dictatorship' in any country which has free elections, with universal suffrage, at the foundation of all its governmental institutions and power."

This is the kind of argument which writers such as he have been making for many years. They attempt to delude the workers by reducing to the form of government, ignoring the fact.

It is true, Mr. Karr, but that is not the point. The fact is that Williams does not mean by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat a dictatorship of the Proletariat in the sense of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. He has, and in his writings on the subject that in some countries this dictatorship may be established without disfranchising the bourgeoisie. Whether a Dictatorship of the Proletariat exists is not determined by whether

the bourgeoisie has the right to vote or not, but by the fact that the working class completely dominates the government and uses it in its own interest to wrest control of the industries from the capitalists.

In the United States we have the form of a democratic government. It is true now and will be true after woman suffrage goes into effect, that even under this formal democracy millions of workers are disfranchised. They have no vote because of the character of their work. It will be true, therefore, even with woman suffrage in effect, that less proportion of the population will have the right to vote in the United States, with its formal democracy, than in Russia under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and disfranchisement of the bourgeoisie.

It is not this fact, however, which determines the existence of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in this country. It is not a question of the basis of the franchise but of fact, and the man who can deny that in practice the capitalists dominate and control the government of the United States is really more successful in fooling himself than seems possible. Even Woodrow Wilson in 1912 was compelled to admit the truth of the statement that the capitalists dominated the government of this country.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is maintained by its control of the sources of information. The capitalists need not worry about the workers having the right to vote so long as they completely control the sources of information which determine how the workers will vote. So long as all the great newspapers, the schools, the pulpits and most of the magazines and periodicals are subject to the will of the capitalists, they can well afford to permit the workers to remain under the illusion that they are really determining something when they go to the polls to vote. The fact is, though, that the workers are merely approving what the capitalists have decided shall be done.

It is true, Mr. Karr, but that is not the point. The fact is that Williams does not mean by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat a dictatorship of the Proletariat in the sense of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. He has, and in his writings on the subject that in some countries this dictatorship may be established without disfranchising the bourgeoisie. Whether a Dictatorship of the Proletariat exists is not determined by whether

(Continued on page 3)

Where is the Power?

(Continued from page 1.)

that we are rapidly approaching a dictatorship by the organized workers. Therefore the frantic, ruthless and violent methods to defeat the big strikes and to check further organization.

It is not unionism and its dictation, however, which is being fought. After all it is very easy to accommodate prices and methods of production to higher wages and shorter hours. There is plenty of margin for profits without child labor and even with old age pensions. Many such concessions can be made, with nothing but benefit to the profit system, as actual experience in many countries has shown a hundred times over.

But there is always the danger—and it is a glaring danger in these revolutionary days—that there may be such a thing as labor organization with the purpose of permanently dominating the system of production in favor of the masses of the nation. That is, dictation not as to the interests of some special group or groups of workers (a spurious dictation which can always be easily circumvented and which demands nothing more than somewhat better terms for somewhat less than one-tenth of the workers)—but a real dictation against the permanent interests of the profit system as a system.

It is not only that the strikes become bigger, due to the fact that the single employer lays down the conditions for more workers and that all the employers in a single industry tend to become more of a unit even where the industry is not in fact a monopoly. It is not only that the strikes become more constant and general, due to the aggravated condition of prices outstripping wages. But the fact of such colossal strikes leads to the government interference now going on, in part an interference against the success of the strikes, in part an interference against the anarchy of the capitalist system.

State Capitalism makes it emphatic to the working class that its fight is not against the employer as an employer—that this is only a sort of feinting and sparring—but against all the employers in a heap operating through the governmental power.

State intervention against these big strikes must make it apparent to the working class not only that the government has decisive power, but that this is now, in the United States, the power of the bourgeoisie—exercised dictatorially against the working class.

There is another item to be considered, a fundamental fact in these struggles, and that is the breakdown of the caste lines among the workers themselves. While the capitalist press is playing up the "alien" prejudice in every possible way—by a prejudice propaganda only surpassed in extent and vileness by the prejudice campaign against the Bolsheviks and the whipping up of anti-negro sentiment—there is quietly going on the effective blending of nationalities and languages in the steel strike and the coal strike.

But it is not only the racial lines which account for caste ideas in the labor movement; it is even more the craft lines. These are being broken down by the changes in industry itself, by the inevitable tendency of the machine process toward a common level of semi-skilled labor.

As a net result of these tendencies the class idea comes ever more insistently to the front, and at the same time it is seen that the class struggle centers around the State and its control.

Capitalism is compelled to become more orderly, to recognize the interdependence of business enterprise and the social life, by

reason of the miners withholding their labor for a few weeks. We experience State Capitalism, the open class government of the capitalists, in absolute control of the economic life of the nation. Even the elective camouflage is dropped; the control is exercised through appointive administrators, themselves of the highest intimacy with and fidelity to the profit system.

The power to compel State Capitalism is the power to compel Communism! The power to compel a revolution within Capitalism, its voluntary acceptance of centralized control, is the power to achieve a revolution against Capitalism.

The strike which can force Capitalism to seek refuge in the State for its own continuity can go further. It can force Capitalism to accept administrative control at the hands of the workers themselves; it can turn this control into the drastic elimination of profits as a permanent policy, to the point of absolute elimination of profits in all business which is already so far centralized that capitalistic initiative exists no longer. For example, there is the coal industry itself. More mines are already in operation than are needed, if the work were better managed and if the mining was more intensive and efficient. The profit incentive now only makes for more wastefulness though it formerly served to get the mines opened up; it is time for central control of the coal mines in the interests of conservation and better management.

There are many persons who believe that this can be done industry by industry, with the workers of the particular industry in control. That is to overlook entirely the fact that everything depends on the ultimate political power, the State. So long as there is a State which represents the class power of the capitalists it is a mere playing with toys for some group of workers to have something to do with the management of their own industry. At the most it might mean an intrenchment of this particular group within the scheme of State Capitalism. That is the gist of the Plumb Plan and of similar schemes for government ownership which accept the capitalists State as the final organ of control.

The first requirement of the revolution against Capitalism is the setting up of a State power of the working class; firstly, to overcome the anarchy due to the breakdown of capitalistic enterprise (just as such administration is set up today to preserve the profit system against its own disturbances); secondly, to make permanent the social control of the economic life of the nation in favor of the working masses, by eliminating the profit element, i. e., by transfer of ownership to the people collectively, proceeding from the most advanced and important industries downward, until there is final elimination of all ownership which allows one man to exploit the labor of others.

This State power will be of a new distinctive character, corresponding to the new purposes of control. The State of the working class is called **THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT** because it frankly avows as its object arbitrary subjection of the economic life of the nation and of the world to the purposes of the working masses. This name also emphasizes the temporary character of such a State, in that it can only last as long as there is a capitalist class to be brought under labor control by dictatorship.

The power to strike in the basic industries is the power to establish **THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**—if the strike makes its appeal in behalf of the whole working class, not alone in behalf of one group of organized workers. That appeal must be the Communist reconstruction of society.

Let the workers of America think over the coal strike—and they will understand and accept Communism.

Comment on a Commenter

(Continued from page 2)

Brest-Litovsk. It was because there was no Red Army and the remnants of the army of the former czar refused to fight that the Bolsheviks agreed to the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Red Army was created when the Czarist generals with the help of Allied imperialism tried to drown the revolution in the blood of the workers.

The criticism which follows this is worth quoting in full. Mr. Karr says:

"In the manner he (Williams) pictured the landing of small Allied forces in Vladivostok, Archangel and Odessa as great and wanton invasions of Soviet Russia, with never a hint that they were sent to those ports to prevent vast stores of munitions, shipped to Russia when

Russia was one of the Allies, from falling into the hands of Germany, after Bolshevik Russia had crawled in the dirt before the Kaiser and had become a pliant tool of the German imperialists."

We suggest that Mr. Karr crawl in the dust to the feet of the editor of his own paper and have the editor read to him, from the column just above his comment on Williams, the following remarks about 113 American dead just returned from Archangel:

"Now that so many things hidden while the war was in progress are being brought to light, cannot the country be told why these 113 honored dead were sent to die in battle and hospital, of wounds, disease and hardship? Is it not time that the origin of the Archangel expedition received some of the same official attention and full publicity given the last sad act on the Hobboken pier?

The mourning parents of the dead, to say nothing of millions of other Americans, would like an answer to that as yet unanswered question.—By what authority were American soldiers sent to a distant country, against which there had been no declaration of war, and left there to suffer and die in a bootless and hopeless winter campaign against savage fanatics, who were so far from being recognized enemies of the United States that President Wilson was meanwhile sending emissaries to treat with them in friendly wise and invite them to conference?"

If your own paper thus strongly characterizes the sending of American soldiers to Archangel, Mr. Karr, is Mr. Williams "fanatically partisan" in raising the same objection? Or do you argue that the writer of the above quoted paragraph is also "fanatically" partisan toward Soviet Russia?

Communist Party and Soviet Institutions

By Vladimir Sorin

(Of the Left Communist Group).

Translation by Morris Gordin.

THE reasons which have brought to a standstill the further development of our revolution and forced it, without a battle, to commence a gradual recession from the already attained positions, are universally acknowledged to be: the intricacy of the international situation, the tardiness in the rise of the West-European revolution, the petty-bourgeois routine and manner of living of the majority of the population, the colossal economic breakdown, etc. This summary, however, lacks one factor which is exerting a negative influence upon the development of the Russian Revolution: **This is the conservatism of the Soviet organizations themselves,—a conservatism which is conditioned by the material (social) status of the numerous army of the Soviet employes as well as by the distinct psychology which is beginning to crystallize in consequence of their material position.**

To clarify this question let us approach it in a manner similar to that of a sociologist who undertakes to analyze the genesis and structure of one or another social group and to investigate its group interests and aspirations.

The November Revolution having destroyed the old governmental apparatus and having removed the officials connected with it, confronted the working class with the necessity of creating a new governmental machine adapted to the transformed social order. A wide field was opened for men of organizing capacity, and tens of thousands of people acquired the possibility of utilizing their talents and abilities in the Soviet institutions. Of what elements was recruited the vast army of Soviet employes who swarmed into various commissariats and commissions, departments and branches, bureaus and committees?—

Of course, first of all there is the category of the old much-trying party men; but if, however, we desire to be sober realists, we must recognize that only an insignificant number of them are so active and untiring as to think of the subsequent development of the revolution, of its extensions; the majority of the old party men, exhausted by the many years of emigrant wandering, the nerve-wrecking "underground" work and the life of the revolutionary fraught with dangers,—now after the triumph of the proletariat cling to their quiet and peaceful work for the Socialist reconstruction. This group is inclined to consider its place in the Soviet organization as a natural consummation and culmination of their hard preliminary work, and they involuntarily begin to regard with hostility and concealed fear every determined measure which endangers the tranquillity attained by them through such hard labor.

Still another element was anxious to work for the Soviet organizations, i. e. a certain semi-intellectual stratum possessing a limited education, which under the old regime had not much of a chance; but now, due the sabotage of the highly trained technical personnel, anybody with a smattering of scientific training and an elementary grasp of arithmetic and grammar suddenly became a valuable and necessary man.

These semi-intellectuals (clerks, scribes, petty officials, etc.) who under the old regime could not even think of a "career", at the present time, as a result of the November Revolution! which created a tremendous demand for all sorts of technicians

and specialists, have "emerged into society"; they are on the whole (we do not speak of isolated "idealistic" individuals or groups) interested in conserving their privileged position; and this position is really a privileged one; a certain "weight" and respect in the eyes of people of their "circle", a fair salary, greater security in regard to vicissitudes, a multiplicity of minor privileges—all these advantages combined induce the average Soviet employee to hold-on to his job and by no means dispose him toward revolutionary daring.

The army of Soviet employes comprises also that politically indifferent "public" which is ready to serve anybody under any regime, and has now "wormed its way" into the Soviet institutions. Finally, we shall mention the mass of every kind of technicians and specialists who undoubtedly do not sympathize with the Soviets for which they consented to work only on the highest salaries, so great is the need of the new republic in trained men.

This group is evidently the most reactionary; only the spur of an income (and not seldom the dollar-hunting impulse) impels the members of this group to give their knowledge and experience to the working class. The mere existence of the Soviets frightens them, and they are only willing to put up with them, provided the Soviet will be rebuilt and adapted to the middlemen and become acceptable for the broad sections of the bourgeois democracy. Because the dominant power attributes importance to this group, appreciates it, therefore this group is able to exert a pressure from within upon the policy of the Soviets, tending in a conservative and even reactionary direction.

Such is the composition of that new social group which is designated as the personnel of the Soviet employes. In view of the limited culture and backwardness of Russia and lack of intellectual elements, the personnel could not be other: the general background is made up of partly tired and partly altogether unreliable groups, while small knots and nuclei of active and tireless workers represent the exception.

From our analysis it follows that the personnel of the Soviet employes, being largely interested in the preservation of its privileged position and its purely professional interests, is prone to assert itself as a **conservative** social group; hence the distrustfulness towards the working classes, the desire to isolate itself from them, to barricade itself, the disposition to get away from party control, (against which the provincial party papers vehemently protest), its fear of perturbations, the insufficient attention to the wants of the workers, the disposition to compromise, the desire to adapt the terrifying Soviet power to the middle-class, the official red-tape, etc.

We are far from the assertion that the Soviet personnel has already been converted into a new-style bureaucracy, as hopelessly detached from the masses as happened, for instance, with the higher-up elements of the German trade-unions,—but doubtless there is such a tendency in evidence. Certainly, this does not depend upon the evil-will of

separate individuals, or upon the idiosyncrasy of the Russian Revolution; such a danger threatens every revolution, because the capitalist class has taken all measures to sap in the bud the independent action of the masses and to habituate them to the thought that the management of the government must be carried on apart from them and be left to the care of especially trained men. At any rate, we must see to it that the November Revolution shall not be utilized for the aggrandizement of a comparatively small group, and for that there is **but one** means: the participation of the broad masses in the political work, the facilitation and the strengthening of the control by the workers over the personnel which is called upon to attend to their needs, the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the technical workers.

Finally, the Party itself, being considerably better safeguarded against disorganization, must extend its control over the Soviet factions and must make all the political workers accountable and responsible to the Party.

It was more than once pointed out that the power of the Soviet of Workers and Peasants' Delegates is the highest achievement of our revolution. This is, of course, correct, but we should not forget that the Communist Party is always and everywhere superior to the Soviets. And this is entirely comprehensible: only the Party functions as the defender of the interests of the world-proletariat, of the international working class; while the Soviets are the representatives of the labor democracy in general, and its interests particular interests of the petty-bourgeois peasantry, do not always coincide with the interests of the proletariat.

The Left Communists are the most determined adherents of the Soviet power, but of course only to the extent to which the Soviet power follows a strictly proletarian line of action and does not permit itself to be diverted, under the influence of conditions referred to in the beginning of the article, in the direction of petty-bourgeois politics.

Our comrades are apt to charge that we introduce disorganization into the well-ordered work of the Soviets, that we are enemies of the Soviets "from the left". Such a view is indicative of a lack of understanding. A real thoroughgoing dictatorship of the proletariat, a no-compromise policy, a renunciation of all opportunistic measures—such are the demands of the left Communists.

We do not deny that the pursuance of a strictly proletarian course in the foreign and internal policy is fraught with terrific dangers, involving perhaps a temporary downfall, but we presume that in the interests of the world-proletarian movement it is preferable to fall under the onslaught of external enemies, but to fall as a truly proletarian power, rather than to save our course through bargaining with conditions, by means of a repudiation of the principles of Communism and the "rebirth" of the Soviet power which will be converted into an empty shell, a "form" of proletarian Soviets with an entirely unproletarian content. This second course spells the disintegration, the decay of the Soviet power, the disappointment of the working masses of Russia and Western Europe.

The United Mine Workers of America

Early History

The American Miners' Association.

Organization among the coal miners of the United States has been subject to marked vicissitudes. Not until the present organization, the United Mine Workers, got the upper hand did there seem any hope for a permanent unionization of the mine workers. The tremendous number of workers, the extremely different conditions in different districts, and the large proportion of immigrant workers have all greatly interfered with the existence of miners' organizations. The first national miners' organization was the American Miners' Association, established in Illinois in 1861. Its founders were men schooled in English trade unionism. It gradually extended its powers to several eastern states. However, it lacked centralization, and quarrels among its officials coupled with strike failures caused it to dissolve in 1867.

The Miners' and Laborers Benevolent Association.

The year 1869 witnessed the birth of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. Soon it brought its influence for unionism into the bituminous regions of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky. It did not extend to the western states, although separate organizations exchanged cards with it.

In 1873 it was absorbed by the Miners' National Association, a more widely extended body. For two or three years the new organization, under the leadership of John Siney, was rather prosperous. Soon, however, wages fell, and a series of disastrous strikes (culminating in the fatal struggle which was known as the "Long Strike") blotted it out of existence. Some of the locals were absorbed by the Knights of Labor.

Chaos in organization ended with the formation of the National Federation of Miners' and Mine Laborers in 1885. It succeeded in securing trade agreements from the operators of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and West Virginia. January 1886 was held the first interstate joint conference of miners and operators. Wrangling over interstate agreements decreased the power of the union very seriously.

In 1890 the United Mine Workers was organized. For the first time practically all the organized miners throughout the country were brought together. The great strike of 1897 was its life-test. Thousands of the non-union men flocked to its colors and the number of members grew from 11,000 to 54,000 with the highly successful outcome of the struggle. An 8-hour day was won. The next few years show even more remarkable strides. On January 1st, 1900, there were 931 local unions and 91,019 members. In January of 1901 these numbers leaped to 1433 locals and 172,529 paid-up members. Unionism was now accepted by miners in 15 states, and practically half the miners of the country were within the folds of the U. M. W.; although it had not yet touched Colorado, Wyoming, North Carolina and a few other states. At this date its main strength was among the bituminous workers. To realize the phenomenal success of this organization one must consider the conditions faced by the U. M. W. Here was ignorance, the parent of distrust, in an un-

usual degree; a past full of failures; a marked dissimilarity in language, race, religion; the existence of a normal surplus of mine labor, and last but not least a solid united front of operators.

In 1900 there was a gigantic attempt on the part of the union to conquer the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania. With but 8000 anthracite workers in its camp, the U. M. W. declared a general strike in the hard coal fields. The result was a surprise to all. The operators received the soundest beating. A general improvement of conditions, an increase in wages amounting to \$5,000,000 and an addition of 100,000 anthracite miners to the U. M. W. was the result. However, it was only with great reluctance that the union renewed this agreement. At this time the U. M. W. was still a narrow, aristocratic union of the class of the Typographical Workers. A hot jurisdictional fight broke out between the miners' organization and that of the Mine Stationary Firemen and Blacksmiths. In order to preserve their solidarity, they dropped their old craft lines and joined hands in May 1901 to become an industrial union, the present form of the U. M. W.

The occasion of the Anthracite strike of 1902 was the demand of the U. M. W. for an increase in wages, shorter hours, and other concessions. This time 147,000 answered the strike call of the union. Indeed, it may be rightly said that the twentieth century opened with this great anthracite battle. Baer's famous doctrine of the divine right of capital, national conventions, riots, a coal famine, and Roosevelt's commission were brought forth. The strike was compromised by John Mitchell's "loyalty" and Roosevelt's interference. The foundation of John Mitchell's fortune was laid at this time. The liberation of the miner from one of the worst phases of wage-slavery was initiated. The miner ceased to be a serf owing allegiance to the coal baron. Prostituted elections, notorious "company stores", the employment of thugs, and the miserable shacks of the workers received a heavy blow in the fields flourished by the U. M. W. Such conditions flourish this very day in the non-union fields.

The thing that surprises one in investigating this union is this: The government labor documents show that there have been more official investigations of strikes in mining industries than of those in any other dozen trades! And like in all other histories most emphasis has been laid on the battles. The U. M. W. is feverishly and constantly at work unionizing the unorganized mine workers.

In the last few years we have seen the Alabama militia burning the camps in which the union was housing evicted strikers; armored cars rushing through West Virginia coal camps and pouring the terrible hail of Gatling guns into the miners' cabins; the massacre at Ludlow, Colorado, by the hired thugs and Rockefeller-paid state militiamen and "government by injunction". The echoes of the shrieks of the nineteen helpless women and babes burned in the Ludlow tents on a balmy April morning in 1914 were heard throughout the world, and not even the horrors of the world war have banished its gory picture from the memory of the American proletariat. The Industrial Relations Committee tells us that

five of the seven demands of the Colorado strikers were laws on the statute books of the state. Eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of "social reform!" Officially the Colorado strike lasted 10 months and the national union alone expended \$2,209,000 to finance it.

In all \$4,500,000 was spent by Labor and over \$12,000,000 by the "industrial democracy" of Rockefeller.

In its present industrial form the U. M. W. is one of America's youngest unions. It is but 18 years old; yet it is the biggest union in the world and its only rivals for first place are federations like the German Metal Trades and the International Transport Workers. These war and revolution have weakened. Its membership is a bit fluctuating because of the shifting of men and unemployment. To-day close to 500,000 are dues-paying members.

Objects

Among its objects the union puts first: "To unite in one organization regardless of creed, color, or nationality, all workmen eligible for membership, employed in and around the coal mines, coal washers and coke ovens on the American continent." This comprehensiveness makes the U. M. W. an industrial and not a trade union. It has no labor aristocrats and wins and loses as a unit. Its second demand reads: "To increase the wages, and improve the conditions of employment of our members by legislation, conciliation, joint agreements or strikes." These methods have been used singly or sometimes even all combined. Since the union has come into existence wages have increased more than 200% and the 8-hour day is universal within its own field of jurisdiction. Although most of the 8-hour laws now on state statute books owe their existence to the efforts of the U. M. W., still most of its gains have been secured through "conciliation" by threat of strikes and strikes. A third object is: "To demand that not more than 8 hours from bank to bank in each 24 hours shall be worked by any members of the organization." This was wholly realized when the anthracite workers secured the 8-hour day after the last joint conference in 1916. "To provide for the education of our children" lawfully prohibiting their employment until they have at least reached sixteen years of age," is another of its demands. The six-object provides for the securing of old-pensions and workmen's compensation laws. Its eighth object is "To secure by legislative enactment laws protecting the lives, and health of our members; establishing our right to organize; prohibiting use of deception to secure strikebreakers preventing the employment of privarmed guards during labor disputes. such legislation as may be beneficial to members."

Organization

The general scheme of organization close resemblance to a political state. are national, district, sub-district, and ruling bodies. The present jurisdiction of the national union covers either completely or in part all the coal-mining regions of the U. S. and Canada. The district is a particular state, but in some cases the product varies in kind or with

(Continued on page 6)

The Central Executive Committee Meeting

THE Central Executive Committee of the party met in Chicago on Nov. 15 to 18th. Resolutions on the unity campaign of C. I. P., on the party policy in reference to the present industrial crisis in the United States and a proclamation to the membership and appeal to the members of the Finnish and Scandinavian Federations, adopted by the committee, have already been published in "The Communist".

The following is a summary of the other business transacted by the committee:

International Relations

The first session of the committee was devoted to the question of the International Relations of the party. It was decided to take such action as would bring the facts about the Communist Party, which have been grossly misrepresented in Europe, to the attention of the comrades there and insure representation of the party at any congress of the Communist International which may be held in the near future.

Organization Details

A member of the Executive Council was designated to be acting Executive Secretary, in conjunction with the Executive Council, at any time that Comrade Ruthenberg was unable to act.

Comrade Ferguson was elected acting editor of "The Communist", with the understanding that in case he was unable to act that Comrade Ruthenberg have the editorial responsibility for the paper. Further provision was made in case these comrades could not act.

A telegram was received from Marion Sproule advising that she had refused to speak from same platform with C. I. P. speaker prior to receipt of instructions to that effect from the Executive Council.

The Executive Secretary was directed to secure the services of some competent Finnish comrade to take up work among the Finnish organizations.

The Executive Council was directed to proceed with the work of organizing Young Peoples Communist League as decided upon by the party convention.

The committee received the resignation of Comrade Petras and secretary was instructed to notify the first alternate elected by the convention, now to be a member of the committee.

Mexico

The Executive Council was instructed to draw up a declaration regarding the Mexican crisis and to secure the co-operation of the Mexican Communist Party in issuing this statement as a joint declaration.

Soviet Bureau

The Central Executive Committee adopted a declaration placing the party on record as supporting the Soviet Government of Russia with all its power and defining its attitude toward the Soviet Bureau. While stating its support in principle of the position taken by the Russian Federations the Committee declared that it would not press the demands made, pending action by the Russian Soviet Government.

Party Discipline

A resolution adopted and sent out by the German Liebknecht Branch of Detroit, specifically repudiating the party program and manifesto was brought before the committee. Since, in applying for charter the branch had endorsed the program and constitution of the party, which it now repudiated, the committee considered that the charter had been obtained under false pretenses and voted to expel the branch from the party. (Since then it has developed that the resolution was the work of a committee and did not come before the branch under form sent out. The matter is now under investigation by the branch.)

"In view of the fact that Proletarian University and Clubs are engaged in propaganda contrary to the Communist Program, principles and organization, no party member shall teach, be a member of, or in any way promote the activities of the Proletarian University and Clubs."

The Executive Secretary was also instructed to enforce Section 9 of Article 3 in relation to the magazine "The Proletarian."

Party Policy

The International Secretary and International Delegates were authorized to revise the "Report to the International" and after such revision the report was ordered transmitted and also printed

in the "Communist International" as an official document of the party.

The International Delegates were instructed to present to the Congress of the International a resolution on the question of the relation of Industrial Unionism to Communism in accordance with the program of the Communist Party of America.

A committee of three was appointed to study the relation of the party to the Industrial Workers of the World and the general question of the industrial organization which party members are to be urged to support and join, which will report its recommendations at the next Central Executive Committee meeting.

A protest was lodged with Comrade Martens of the Soviet Bureau against officials of the bureau using the prestige of their position in the interest of the Communist Labor Party and against the Communist Party.

The question of establishing a school for party workers was referred to the Executive Council with the instructions to collect information on the subject.

Editors of all party papers were requested to send translations of articles of general interest to the "Communist", which will distribute these articles for general publication.

The action of the Executive Council to the effect that the publications of all newly created Language Federations should be owned by the party was rescinded and the Council instructed to turn over any papers which it starts to the Federation of the language group when such a Federation is organized.

The German State Organization of Ohio was requested to turn their paper "The Echo" over to the Central Executive Committee to become the official organ of the German Federation.

It was decided that Federations may add to the duties of their translator-secretaries the work of organizers and require other services of them, but that the work of the translator-secretaries should at all time be primarily under the control of the Executive Council and Executive Secretary.

The sum of \$100.00 was appropriated as a contribution to the Minnesota State Organization to assist in its work.

C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary

United Mine Workers of America

(Continued from page 5)

re a very large number of workers there are many districts, as in Pennsylvania, here there are six. The subdistrict exists in order that special regulation may be secured in particular cases for the widely varying conditions which prevail in every district. The local union has jurisdiction within the subdistrict as over a colliery. The union has its own officers and constitution, and legislates for its particular territory.

The U. M. W. is managed in a fairly democratic way. Ultimately all power is vested in the local union. The President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and convention delegates are all elected by the local union. The convention delegates choose members of the National Executive Committee. Great power is vested in the convention, in order that there should be no division during strikes. He may suspend any national officer, or suspend any one in one district to aid another. However, no general suspension can be made without a favorable popular vote. The National Executive Board, made up of elected representatives, has power to collect taxes, acts as a court of appeal in case of strikes, and may call a special convention, and may suspend any one in one district to aid another. The convention is usually held in Indianapolis, on Monday in January. It is very important that it can change the constitution,

and abrogate contracts made at the Interstate Joint Conference of Operators and employees. One delegate is elected for every 100 members and an additional one for every majority fraction thereof.

CONCLUSION

The U. M. W. is not only the biggest union in the A. F. L. in numbers, but also in power and wealth. Its colossal fights are a constant drain upon its finances. In the 17 years ending December 1, 1915, the total expenditures of this single union were \$21,774,790.92. Of this the staggering sum of \$16,451,832.44 was spent for strike aid. This does not include the millions expended by the district and the local bodies. No other labor union on earth can show an equal expenditure for strikes, and all of this in spite of the fact that very few organizations have made more strenuous efforts to avoid such trials of strength. The U. M. W. not only conducts the biggest strikes, but its affairs affect all industry. The management of a miners' strike is comparable only to the strategy of a great military campaign. For them to supply relief is to manage the commissary of an army. No funds are paid in cash as is done in city strikes, for to pay cash in a mining camp would mean to play into the hands of the company stores. The union therefore buys its supplies in train-load lots and establishes a distributing center in each camp. An elaborate system of rationing is put into effect. This "war"

demand has led them to establish similar stores in peace times. They are the leaders in the American co-operative movement. In Illinois there are 40 prosperous miners' co-operative stores. As to a general benefit system, the national union has as yet done nothing, although districts are taking it up. Unionism to miners is more than a religion. Mr. Frank Julius Warne who has studied them closely calls this union "the maker of men and democracy in America." It has performed the functions of school, government, church and university and has done it better than institutions bearing these names.

The U. M. W. know no "foreigner", though 62% of its membership is foreign-born. It has met the problem of the "melting pot" and has welded over 25 nationalities into one highly social group. In 1914 ended one of the most wonderful strikes in the history of all Labor. For 14 months 17,000 miners of over 25 nationalities were striking and yet there was never the least suspicion of violence—not a window was cracked!

Like the miners the world over the rank and file of the American Miners are in the front of radical thought.

A consciously revolutionary miners organization means a proletarian dagger at the heart of American capitalism. Hence the yelping and frantic antics of that mad dog—American bourgeoisdom. On with the Communist task!

The Party Organization

C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Help Defend your Comrades!

THE ruling class of this country is making a desperate effort to disrupt the Communist Party. It believes that if it can put the officials of the organization in prison the party will disintegrate. To accomplish this end charges are being placed against practically every active party official.

Several weeks ago Comrades Kowalsky, Stankovich, and Friedman, translator-secretaries, were arrested and held for deportation. The bond was fixed at \$10,000 in order to keep them in prison while the cases were pending. Comrade Stankovich, another translator-secretary, had previously been arrested upon deportation warrant.

Now these attacks on the Federation representatives have been followed by attempts to imprison the officials of the national organization. Comrades Ferguson, Fraina, Cohen, and Ruthenberg, all members of the Central Executive Committee of the party, have been indicted in New York on account of their activities as members of the National Council of the Left Wing. Comrades Ferguson and Fraina are the editors of the official party paper. Comrades Ballam and Cohen edit local Communist organs, and Comrade Ruthenberg as Executive Secretary has charge of the organization and propaganda work of the party.

It is clear that the indictments against these comrades are intended to remove them from their work of building up the party organization. The charges against them are flimsy, but in the meantime the bond is fixed at the outrageous figure of \$15,000 in order to make sure that they will be kept in prison while the cases are pending.

What is the answer of the party organization? Are we to permit the ruling class to sweep these comrades from our midst and remove them from their work of building up our organization?

The decision lies with the party membership. It can keep

them out of prison while the cases are pending and also help to win their freedom.

Two things must be done. The bonds must be arranged for and a Defense Fund created.

There are fifty thousand members of our organization. Many of our comrades were compelled to purchase Liberty Bonds during the war. They can now make effective use of these bonds by loaning them to the party for use as bail to free our comrades. There is nothing to be lost by this action. The party will receive receipts for the bonds and return them as soon as the cases are disposed of.

Other party members can loan cash to the organization to be used to secure bail.

The party calls upon every member who can loan either bonds or cash to send them to the national office at once.

If we lose these cases it means the end of our open existence as an organization.

They involve the fundamental principles of our organization and we must fight them to a finish. The propaganda importance of these cases cannot be overstated. For this purpose the party must have a Defense Fund. Each branch is urged to at once make a contribution from its treasury and to take up the work of collecting funds.

The ruling class is testing our organization, comrades. Is it weak and easily destroyed? Or shall we prove ourselves powerful and unyielding? We have boasted that ours is a fighting organization—LET US FIGHT!

Send in the bonds and money to be used as bail to keep these comrades out of prison. Send in your contribution to the Defense Fund. We must have quick action.

Let us take up the challenge which the ruling class hurls at us and defend our comrades to the limit!

Organization Progress

Bulgarian Branch Joins C. P.

The revolutionary elements in the Socialist Labor Party are gradually beginning to realize that they can no longer remain in that organization, and are severing their connection and joining the Communist Party. The latest organization to take this step is the Bulgarian Branch of Detroit. This branch has issued the following statement to other Bulgarian branches in the S. L. P.:

More than one-third of the members of the Bulgarian Branch of the S. L. P. of Detroit have forever severed their connection with the S. L. P. and joined the Communist Party of America.

These members took this action because they were dissatisfied with the inactivity and anti-revolutionary attitude of the S. L. P. and its conservative and pro-capitalist tactics.

Over forty members answered the call of the Third International and joined the Communist Party.

Being isolated from the Bulgarian workers throughout the country we are appealing to the Bulgarian workers who are connected with the Communist Party to come in contact with the Bulgarian Communist Branch of Detroit. The branch is printing the Manifesto and Program, Constitution and Report to the International in Bulgarian, which will be ready in two weeks.

Those who wish to communicate with the branch may do so through the National Office of the Communist Party.

* * *

A Turkish and an Armenian Branch have applied for charters as branches of the Communist Party.

* * *

A convention of the German Federation of the Communist Party will be held during the month of December, which will be attended by representatives of all the branches which have joined the C. P., which have a membership of over 2,500.

* * *

Charters issued by the Communist Party up to December 1, totaled 631. The membership of the branches to which these charters were issued was 30,314. In addition to these 631 branches there are over 400 branches of Federations affiliated with the party which had not secured their charters. If the average membership of these branches is the same as that of those which have already been chartered the total membership of the party will go well over the 50,000 mark.

Charter Applications Must Be In By January 1

In order to secure a charter from the Communist Party as an organized branch the application for charters of such branches must be sent to the National Headquarters by Jan. 1.

The provision of the constitution of the party under which charters are being granted to organized bodies reads as follows:

Any branch of the Socialist Party or Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920, shall be accepted as a branch.

Organized branches which do not send in their applications before the date mentioned will have to make application as new organizations and each member will be obliged to pay the initiation fee of fifty cents.

Branches which desire to have a continuity of membership and have not yet applied for a charter should do so at once.

Radek's Pamphlet Now Ready

Many difficulties with printers delayed the publication of Pamphlet No. 3, which will, however, soon reach the reader. The pamphlet contains "The Development of Socialism" and "Reference to Action" by Karl Radek, one of the most valuable recent contributions to the literature of the movement. It is now off the press, however, and shipments are being made. Prices are the same as for pamphlet No. 2. Pamphlet No. 3 "The Communist Party and the I. W. W.—a Debate" will be printed at a very early date.

Buttons

If you can't wear the party button any other way, you'll want one to put on your vest or on your coat lapel. The buttons are now ready for shipment. The button shows the outline of earth in the center with a red flag covering most of it—a prophesy of the days to come with a red margin on which the words "Communist Party of America—The Communist International" appear. On the red flag covering the earth are the words "All power to Workers!" Colored buttons are 3c in lots of more. Cost \$5.50 per dozen.

Leaflet No. 5

Leaflet No. 5, "You must Unite, Workingmen" which appeared on the front page of the 19th issue of "The Communist" is now being printed and will be ready for shipment by the time our next issue reaches us. This leaflet covers a very important question—the unification of the strikes—and should have a big circulation. Send in your order at once.

"The Communist International"

ON ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS INTERRUPTIONS IN THE EDITORIAL WORK, THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE PARTY MAGAZINE HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY POSTPONED. PRACTICALLY ALL OF THE FIRST ISSUE IS NOW COMPLETED AND EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO ISSUE THE MAGAZINE REGULARLY BEGINNING WITH JANUARY FIRST NUMBER.

Subscription is requested for prompt distribution by sending in orders at once.

Annual subscription\$3.
Single issue

Communist Propaganda in Russia

BEARING in mind the necessity of a firm and lasting alliance between the proletariat and the poorest peasants and peasants of medium means, also bearing in mind the political darkness, the general ignorance, and the low standard of agricultural knowledge in the villages, which are serious obstacles and which condemn the poorest peasantry and the peasantry of medium means to poverty and stagnation,—the Communist Party is compelled to pay most serious attention to the matter of education in the villages in the broadest sense of the word.

For the purpose of educational activities in the villages the following elements must co-operate:

1. Communist propaganda;
2. General education;
3. Agricultural education.

1. Political propaganda in the villages must be carried on among the literate peasants as well as among the illiterate.

The propaganda among the literate must consist first of all in the distribution of popular literature and newspapers of a Communist character, specially prepared for this purpose. Such literature must be sold at very low prices in schools, reading huts, and in all Soviet stores.

It is necessary to strive for the organization of reading rooms in every school with a political department, and that such reading rooms should be in every village People's House; and, in places where there are not such People's Houses, popular political books must be an essential part of every reading hut.

Courses for children, and especially for adults—the academic as well as the special (agricultural, for instance)—must include: (1) popular history of culture from a scientific Socialist point of view and with a specially-prepared part devoted to Russian history and to the history of the Great Russian Revolution; (2) the interpretation of the Soviet constitution. For both of these courses proper text-books are to be prepared immediately.

The teachers are obliged to look upon themselves as upon agents not only of a general but also of a Communist education.

In this respect they must be subjected to the control of their immediate heads, as well as of the local party organizations.

Moving picture houses, theatres, concerts, exhibitions, etc., inasmuch as they will reach the villages (and all effort are to be exerted for this purpose), must be utilised for Communist propaganda directly, i.e., through the upkeep of these and also by way of combining these with lectures and meetings.

Departments of public education—provincial and county—with the assistance and under the control of the local party organizations, must organize collegiums of propagandists who are partly permanent, i.e., attached to their locality, and partly traveling, i.e., such as will cover a more or less wide section.

In the big city centres it is necessary that the party organizations should form collegiums of propagandist-instructors (in accordance with the local organs of the Commissariat of Education), who would carry on a travelling propaganda directly among the masses, and also instruct the less experienced comrades in the localities.

In this connection the convention calls special attention to the possibility of utilis-

Resolution Adopted by the 8th Convention of the Communist Party.

ing the work of the regiments of industrial workers, who are under the direction of the All-Russian Soviet of Professional Unions.

For the illiterate, periodical readings must be arranged in the schools, on the premises of the volost (county) Soviet of Deputies, in the reading huts, etc., for which purpose the departments of public education, with the assistance of the local party organizations, create special circles of readers, including the local teaching staff, with obligatory readings by the literate elements. The subjects of the readings should be the decrees and administrative orders of the Soviets, together with specially-prepared popular interpretations sent out by the centres (party or Soviet Centres), also stories for readers, which are being constantly revised. It would be advisable to accompany such reading with illustrations by way of motion pictures or stereopticon slides; also with a reading of fiction, as well as concerts for the purpose of attracting large audiences.

2. General education—within school and outside of school (including artistic education: theatres, concerts, motion pictures, exhibitions, etc.), endeavoring not only to shed the light of a varied knowledge on the dark villages, but primarily to aid in the creation of self-consciousness and of a clear conception of things—must be closely connected with the Communist propaganda. There are not any forms of science and art which are not connected with the great ideas of Communism and with the various tasks of creating Communist economy.

As far as the schools are concerned, the question of revising them on principles of continuity and labor has been decided. It is necessary to pay special attention to all forms of out-of-school education for adults. The party must by all means assist the

Soviet authorities and the local population in the organization of a large system of community centers (People's Houses), for which purpose the Soviet estates are to be used first of all. The community centers must be peasants' clubs for resting, for sensible amusements, and broad enlightenment, general as well as Communist.

The Communist Party, permitting and encouraging the utilisation of the knowledge of the specialists and other educated persons for conducting courses and for aiding in conducting Communist centers—must take care at the same time that the elements hostile to the Soviet power should not make use of the apparatus of general education and should not introduce in the form of literature, science and art any counter-revolutionary, or anti-social tendencies, and should not thereby paralyze the efforts of Communist propaganda.

3. The peasants feel keenly the need of agricultural education.

The Soviet estates, as well as the farm schools, must become the light-houses of agricultural education. Agricultural institutions, organized and maintained by the People's Commissariat of Education, must be in closest contact with the agricultural institutions of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

There must not be any schools, colleges, or any other educational organizations in the villages which do not endeavor (in accordance with the principle of combining studies with productive labor) to function at the same time as an organization of a model husbandry—complete or in part.

Agricultural education must be carried in such a way as to combine this with Communist ideas and it should serve as a pillar to the general effort of the party to reconstruct private establishments into one organized Socialist institution.

They Got the Chicken Killers!

From *Socialist News*, Cleveland Communist Paper.

THURSDAY morning's papers reported a raid made on the Socialist Labor Lyceum by Chief of Police Smith, Inspector Grauel, Bliss Morton, several captains, some lieutenant detectives, a score of policemen and more than fifty members of the Loyal American League, otherwise known as the initiation Black Hundred, which has as its special object to establish czarism in America.

With such an army and under the leadership of Chief of Police Smith himself, to say nothing of the redoubtable McEwen who shines as the leader of the Black Hundred, the game bagged should have been big indeed.

The newspapers reported that about seventy men had been arrested and of course the suggestion was that they were "bomb throwers", "reds", "Bolsheviks" and Communists. It is true that about that many men were loaded into the police patrols and automobiles which the army brought with them. But, remarkable as it may seem, in place of bagging "bomb throwers", "reds", "Bolsheviks" and Communists, Chief Smith, Inspector Grauel, Bliss Morton, McEwen, the captains, lieutenants, detectives, patrolmen and very Loyal Americans carried with them to the police station nothing more or

less than Chicken Killers! Yes, Chicken Killers.

Lest anyone gain the impression that this is some new and more dangerous variety of that group whose various names have been catalogued above, let us hasten to add that it is a custom among orthodox Jews to have their chickens killed by certain special persons who possess some peculiar virtue for the task. These men are known as "Shochetims". They have been receiving for their work of slaughtering fowl the sum of five cents each. This they claimed was too little and so they proceeded to organize a union for the purpose of increasing the price of killing chickens to ten cents. The union was in session at the Socialist Labor Lyceum when the army above enumerated descended upon that establishment. Consequently the bag of "chicken killers."

This raid which besides the "chicken killers" bagged the conservative members of the Jewish "Arbeiter Ring" has given some workingmen unconnected with the radical movement some taste of police methods in Cleveland at the present time. These men got their portion of brutal handling. They have learned that workingmen can be thrown in jail for no other reason than that they are engaged in a peaceable meeting. Let the police and the "Loyal American" keep it up. They are doing well.